DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 214 643 PS 012 736

TITLE What Opportunities Are There for Parents to Be Educators? Proceedings of a Research Area Planning Conference (Washington, DC, December 10-11, 1979).
INSTITUTION National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Dec 79
NOTE 55p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Children; Conference Proceedings; Family Influence; Federal Legislation; *Learning Motivation; *Literacy Education; Parent Influence; Parent Participation; *Parent Role; Public Policy; Reading Ability; Research Needs
IDENTIFIERS Parent as a Teacher

ABSTRACT

This report includes proceedings from the Family as Educators Conference which aimed (1) to clarify the roles parents have in supporting their children's achievement in literacy and motivation for school learning (i.e., attitudes affecting school work and attendance), and (2) to assess the viability of parents' educative roles in light of current knowledge about American families. The report is divided into two sections. The first section includes an overview of the conference objectives and structure, a report from the conference chair which summarizes four themes identified at the conference as important for future research in the area of families as educators, and a list of research topics identified by participants in three working groups which met during the conference. The second section includes four experts' papers which provide background information on the conference topics, and which were presented during the opening sessions of the conference. The first paper provides a summary, with recommendations, of the research literature dealing with the effects families have on their children's reading abilities. The second paper examines how parents might better serve as motivators for their children's school performance. The third paper first reviews the origins, current forms, and emerging directions of some of the major legislated roles of parent involvement. Next, the paper examines some state and local governmental influences on parent involvement practices, and surveys current school practices of involving parents in school programs. Finally, the fourth paper reviews past educational and social service program attempts to encourage parents to take educative roles. A partial list of conference participants, their affiliations and research areas are attached. (Author/MP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

PS

WHAT OPPORTUNITIES ARE THERE FOR PARENTS TO BE EDUCATORS?

0080

ED214643

Proceedings of a Research Area Planning Conference

December 10-11, 1979

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Families as Educators Team

Home, Community and Work Division

Teaching and Learning Program

National Institute of Education

PS 01 2736

Acknowledgments

This conference was planned and organized by Families as Educators team member Cynthia Wallat under the direction of the Team Leader, Oliver Moles and the Division Chief, Robert Wise. Dr. Wallat also prepared a draft of the conference overview, and introduction to the excerpts of papers and the basic organization of these proceedings. Final editing of this report was the responsibility of the team leader.

Dr. Jenny Cook-Gumperz was selected to lead this planning conference because of her broad knowledge and experience in studies of literacy and socialization processes in home and school settings. In addition, her knowledge and use of ethnographic perspectives seemed especially appropriate for understanding the processes within families and between families and schools which further children's education. Her ability to sense the themes in the many strands of the conference discussions is reflected in her perceptive Report from the Conference Chair.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

OVERVIEW AND REPORTS

Conference Overview 2

Report from the Conference Chair 6

Synthesis of Work Groups Reports 14

PART II

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Introduction 18

Propositions on Parents as Literacy Educators 19

Excerpts from The Intergenerational Transmission of Literacy 20

Excerpts from Parents as Motivators of their Children's Achievement 29

Excerpts from Legislated Roles of Parent Involvement 35

Typologies of Parents as Educators 43

Participants 49

PART I: OVERVIEW AND REPORTS

CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

Background

The Home, Community and Work Division within the Teaching and Learning Program at the National Institute of Education includes three teams: Families as Educators; Adult Learning; and Youth Learning and Work. During the latter half of 1979 each of the teams was in the midst of an intensive period of developing research area plans and directions for the 80's. The Families As Educators Team sponsored the information gathering and synthesis conference reported here on December 10-11, 1979 in Washington, D.C.

The overall purpose of this invitational conference was to clarify the roles of parents as educators as they apply to student achievement in literacy, and motivation for school learning (e.g. attitudes affecting school work and attendance), and to assess the viability of these roles in light of current knowledge about American families.

The conference had two broad aims. The first was to summarize the latest knowledge on: a) parental influence on children's literacy development and motivation for school learning, and b) programs to enhance parental roles and activities in support of children's education. Papers on these topics, were used as background reading and were presented during the opening session of the conference. Excerpts from these papers are included in Part II of this report.

The second broad aim was to provide an opportunity for researchers with different perspectives to discuss and propose needed research issues, topics and methods that could be considered under the broad construct of Families As Educators. This objective was accomplished through two panel discussions and two meetings of three work groups during the two-day conference. Over thirty researchers, educators, and members of federal agencies who represented various academic specialities and family and community interests were in attendance (see Participant List in Appendix).

The discussion was greatly enriched by the diversity of disciplines represented among the participants: economics, educational ethnography, family studies, pediatrics, psychology, sociolinguistics and sociology.

Past family studies have recently been questioned for failing to identify models that 1) can make better sense of existing information on parental influence on academic achievement, 2) can help parents work with schools when their children move beyond the early school years. One criticism raised is that past work has assumed an idealized model of the "normal" family as two middle class parents living together with several children. The problem with this model or "ideal" of family life is that it does not acknowledge the presence and vitality of the multiple forms found among contemporary families.

In a broader sense, the contrast between ideal conditions and the realities of American family life was a focus for the discussions. The conference title was intentionally posed as a question in order to stimulate thought about the actual opportunities parents have to be educators in contrast to the ideal modes of family interaction implicit in many research studies.

Today many families have two working parents, or only one parent, or limited financial resources, or represent differing linguistic and racial backgrounds. Assumptions that parents have time to engage in educational activities with children or have money to buy educational materials must be reexamined, as well as language and cultural differences that affect participation by minorities in full educational experiences. These and other factors need to be reconsidered to distinguish real from ideal opportunities for parents to be educators.

Given the complexity of the conference subject, four outcomes were identified to act as a framework for discussion:

1. Review of research on family influences on literacy and motivation for school learning.

2. Review of parental educational roles* in terms of expectations for parental behaviors and home resources reflected in the content and methods of different parent involvement programs.

3. Synthesis of participant views on the soundness of current conceptualizations of the roles of families as educators. For example, one question to be tested concerns the extent to which parents have necessary time, ability, resources and support for enacting these roles.

4. Synthesis of participant views on ways in which current knowledge regarding literacy, motivation, and family educational roles can be strengthened through support of research in:

    understanding resources available for families to help them enact educational roles

    understanding educational processes that may occur within parent-child interactions, or under the supervision of the parent

    understanding implications of these roles for school and community agency personnel

    understanding ways in which schools and community organizations can work with parents to enhance educational roles.

The lack of alternative models for families as educators creates a problem for those concerned with involving parents in their children's schooling. The problem can be formulated as a question:

---

* Parent educational roles might involve parents as tutors, reinforcers of school learning, models for reading, co-planners of child's educational program, homework managers and school volunteers.

> How can home and school acknowledge families as educators and the variation and diversity among families, without placing unreasonable educational responsibilities on parents?

Much of the conference discussion addressed different aspects of this question.

Structure

The structure of the conference was as follows. An initial conference session gave participants the chance to describe their orientation, work and interests, and their perspective on the question posed as the theme of the conference. Then three presentations delineated the ideal or optimal conditions for enhancing student literacy (Shirley Jackson) and motivation (Blake Keasey), and parent involvement in education as mandated in legislation (Edward Gotts). A history and analysis of parent education and parents in educational roles was provided by Catherine Chilman. (Excerpts of all papers can be found in Part II.)

Conference participants were then asked to bring their own research and professional experience to bear on the NIE mission of promoting educational equity and improvement of educational practice in terms of two panel discussion topics:

- Opportunities for parents to enact educator roles identified in research and parent involvement programs
- Analysis of needed family and home/school research

All participants were assigned randomly to one of two panels. The first panel was instructed to take a critical stance toward the assumed opportunities parents have to perform educative functions. This panel discussed present knowledge of a) parents' enactment of intentional educational activities, b) beliefs about their appropriate educative roles, c) parents' willingness to perform the roles identified, d) parents' power in their roles vis a vis schools, and e) resources families have to help them enact these roles and the constraints they face.

The second panel was asked to discuss needed research based on the discussions of the previous day. Each panel was in full-conference roundtable format with non-panelists as audience.

The work groups met on the first and second day to consider the issues and topics needing research and their rationale. They addressed similar questions. A synthesis of their deliberations has become the Report from Work Groups. This and the Report from the Conference chair Jenny Cook-Gumperz who synthesized elements from throughout the discussions represent the essential conclusions of the conference.

The reports from the Conference Chair and the Work Groups which follow provide general recommendations for Families As Educators research themes that developed during the conference. The Report from the

Conference Chair includes: 1) a report of six concerns expressed by participants during the general sessions regarding research on families as educators, and 2) an elaboration on possible research approaches that could address these concerns and could also expand knowledge about each of the following recommended themes for families as educators research:

A. New roles for parents and schools

B. New alliances and partnerships between home, school and community

C. New views of demands on school age children and youth

D. New views of the family as a network of relationships

REPORT FROM THE CONFERENCE CHAIR

Jenny Cook-Gumperz

This report is intended as a summary and elaboration of four conceptual themes identified by over 30 researchers, educators and program administrators at the "Families As Educators" Conference. As such I will refer to many of the key points introduced during the general sessions as well as present my impressions of the conference based on past work in family research, community school research, small group processes and social interaction within the area of educational sociology and social psychology.

Concerns Expressed at the Conference

Several general concerns emerged from the two days of the conference; these I will discuss before examining the four main research themes identified. The first and greatest concern to the conference was that research on families and schooling should not take a prescriptive direction; and should not seem to blame parents for their everyday practices if schooling outcomes are not successful. The conference papers which dealt with the ideals of parents as educators showed that past attempts to understand the relationship between parental practices and schooling outcomes have relied heavily on quantitative studies using correlational analsis. This severely reduces the range of parental behaviors which can be studied compared to more qualitative methods such as case studies. While none of the studies reviewed at the conference directly indicates that parents are neglectful or intentionally harmful to their children's socio-cognitive development, the results of such work can be seen as creating a climate of opinion about parental actions which may be detrimental to positive parent-school collaboration in many areas.

How this interpretation is possible has been suggested by the social theorist Richard Titmuss. In reviewing the relationship between modern medicine and parental action he commented:

> The more that stress is laid on psychological and envronmental factors in child care - on factors that are personally controllable and not predestined- the more parents may be led to feel blameworthy. As the power of (medicine) increases so does the concept of parental responsibility. The urge to intervene, to do something to relieve the situation for one's child increases as parents become aware of the potentiality of power of (modern medicine)
> (Titmuss, R. Essays on the Welfare State, 1960, p. 199)

While Titmuss was here analyzing parent perceptions of their ability to handle problems as they are defined within medical institutions, we could very pertinently add modern education's institution—the school—to the analysis, for the same can now be said of the power of

education. Parents in the past three decades have become increasingly aware of the enormous power of schooling as the gatekeeper to future socio-economic achievement, mobility, and occupational satisfaction. However parents may not be able to help their children because current schooling practices may be unfamiliar as in the case of "new" math and transformational grammar. Since parents may not be aware of how or why new schooling practices are introduced they may have different opinions than educators and researchers. Such differences are problematic. According to Titmuss they remain problematic because public debates that center around such differences in opinion focus on discussions of parents responsibility and desire to protect and care for their children. These debates rarely take the next step of providing options for parents to bridge the gap between their own schooling experience and that of their children.

The second concern of the conference was that the problem of parents and schools should be conceptualized as a reciprocal flow of interest and that new ways should be found of enabling parents and schools to make contact. It was felt that the best ways to approach the concept of families as educators was to begin with the primary function of education which is to enable all people to be aware of the ways in which their lives are personally controllable, and with parents' primary concern in home-school communication which is the ways in which their urge to protect and aid their children can be effectively carried through.

A third concern that arose was a need to support research which can make distinctions when identifying educational processes in and out of school. Any research which compares the process of learning and experience in the family with school learning must keep at the forefront the differential nature of home and school and what has become their legitimate social function in the United States.

Building on this note of caution for borrowing conceptualizations which were developed for school research for use in family research led to the fourth conference concern: the definition of the family itself. The conference participants repeatedly stressed that no single definition of "a family" could be considered to be sufficient for the many different purposes of educational research. Both to conceptualize and to explore families in their daily operation require methodologies which permit "seeing" family members within the context of: a) local and cultural traditions, and b) the broader sociocultural and economic conditions to which a particular family structure may be responsive. In their daily activities families are expected to remain, within certain thresholds, private domains. Concern was expressed by some conference participants that the focus on "Families as Educators" might result in moving attention from the established institutions of learning in the public domain--the school--and giving excessive concern to the private area of the family.

Conference participants also voiced a fifth concern: ethical questions on research in families. It was felt that any research involving families must be sensitive to the rights of the participants,

particularly where there is intervention in family practices. The relationship between the researcher and participants in the study must be considered in designing research projects in this area. One way that the family has been included in past research has been to offer specific types of aids, e.g., tutorial help for a child or adult family member. This support has tended to last only for the life of a particular study. The conference participants suggested that we will need to consider how services begun during the research project can be maintained once a study has been completed.

Sixth and lastly, a concern voiced at the conference was that the directions of research on Families as Educators should be to find ways of reconceptualizing the school-home relation so as to focus on the interaction between these two agencies and children's learning. The focus of research could profitably be directed to partnerships between home and school, including communication between parents and teachers, school administrators, other school personnel and community leaders, where both the home and school are coming together to solve problems related to chidldren. As reviewed in the synthesis report from three work groups, it was proposed by conference participants that the Families as Educators research area be conceptualized as a triangle with interaction among three points, i.e, child, family, and school personnel.

Four Themes with Suggestions for Research

The following points and discussion summarize four themes developed at the conference for research directions in the area of Families As Educators.

A. New roles for parents and schools

As the papers on "the ideal of parents as educators" show, previous research in this area has been based almost exclusively upon statistical correlations between parental practices or attitudes and schooling achievements of children (reading level, test scores, etc.). This limited focus on parent behavior results in a distortion of factors influencing achievement. It analyses only the causal links between a limited number of parent and child behaviors. Future research must widen its view of family behavior to include an understanding of multiple social contexts and multiple family structures. For example, the whole family unit should be considered as a learning environment for the child. To focus exclusively on parent-child relations is to neglect the role of siblings and kin outside the household.

A related problem in family research is the definition of roles. In the past, role has tended to be defined as a preset and unchangeable set of behaviors such as "mother's role" or disciplinarian role. Recent research on role theories has suggested that the concept of roles can be strengthened by beginning with a process definition of social roles, or by identifying possible strategies of communication that take into account changes in the demands on individuals across social settings and time. For example, to label a parent a disciplinarian tells us nothing about the type of discipline or behavior expectations the parent has for

a child. The "disciplinarians" may be trying to foster behavior that they believe will prepare a child for going to school or for dealing with neighborhood conditions.

Role labels by themselves do not help us to understand why a particular parent education intervention program which includes prescriptions for dealing with children's behavior may be viewed by a parent as one which carries demands for behavioral change that do not fit their expectatins for their child. If however, we view parent behavior roles as processes or strategies that will change depending on the situation or context and the child's age or developmental needs, we will be able to identify new roles for parents and schools in relation to parents.

In reviewing past research on parent and teacher educative roles, it can be seen that critical distinctions have not been made. Instead, both have been defined strictly on the basis of what was known about teaching and learning in school settings. The dimensions of parents' educative roles are, in general, not clearly defined. While researchers have attempted to identify what they believe are the ideal conditions for enactment of roles such as parent as literacy educator, research on the actual enactment of educational roles in the family is still in a pioneering stage.

This statement of the research problem suggests several possible strategies for investigating new educative roles for families. One might focus particularly on the problem of communicating in school settings where parents and school staff typically meet. Both may have unclear expectations about families as educators or conflicting views of school and home demands on children and youth.

Specific Research Approaches

The following approaches build upon previous work in small group communication.

- Small group discussions as a way of exploring expectations about particular roles of parent vis a vis the school, e.g., parent groups meeting across time.

- Interaction analysis of parents and teachers in specific school settings, e.g., video tapes of parent - teacher conferences.

- Work to identify particularly difficult transition points throughout children's school life careers, e.g., small scale surveys of reactions to transitions from elementary to secondary school, and opportunities to work with parents regarding them.

- Work with small groups to plan new educative roles for families vis a vis school and to follow through with studies of parent-teacher interactions as these roles evolve.

- Analysis of school tasks for potential parent involvement focusing particularly on socio-cognitive skills.

B. New alliances and partnerships between home, school & community.

It is recognized that the school has an accepted and legitimate role in preparing students for modern societies. However, in order to be responsive to any changing balance of responsibility between parents and schools, there is a need to add to the school's traditional roles. The problems of communication between teachers and parents cannot be left simply at present levels, but must be analysed more broadly in terms of the needs for schools and families to influence each other over sustained periods regarding the education of the child.

One way to stimulate a broader analysis of an objective such as partnerships between home, school and community is to introduce a new concept such as alliance. Terms in legislation and funding regulations such as "parent involvement" do not by themselves recognize that the home and school today may be in a tense stage of identifying and working out the complex question of who shall be responsible for ensuring that children and youth maximize both their academic and social development. A term such as "alliance" would be useful in drawing attention to specific features of home-school contacts which (1) help parents, teachers, and researchers identify and share strategies, procedures and programs that are effective in dealing with the tense issue of shared responsibility in promoting academic and/or social behavior competencies; and (2) help parents, teachers, and researchers, share their experience with educational delivery systems which recognize parents as educators.

Some past research has looked specifically at ways in which local communities can become involved with schools in their daily operations and become involved with schools in their needs to be done to explore the different kinds of natually occuring situations that bring schools, teachers, parents, and families together in both crisis and non-crisis situations. New alliances or partnerships might be formed around neutral areas which are not viewed by either parents or teachers as threatening their expectations about role with children and youth. Such areas might include community centers, libraries, or service organizations. The research strategies arising from this approach focus particularly on the way to identify factors that influence the settings of partnerships.

Specific Research Approaches

- Use of small scale surveys of existing settings with selective samples, or comparative case studies of the working of existing collaborative projects, or analysis of projects with different structural characteristics, e.g. after school care, community-sponsored school play groups, neighborhood play groups in homes.

o Ethnographic studies at the community level to determine how spontaneously organized parent projects such as playground site improvements get started, e.g., to identify individuals who have learned to become community opinion leaders or community organizers.

o Adult education course work or projects to involve adults, especially teachers and parents together, in some observational work on functions of play and how play facilities can foster cognitive development.

o Recent research at the community level has highlighted communication as the major problematic area involved in the different levels of negotiation and discussion necessary to get school administrators, community leaders, as well as parents and teachers together in projects. Research on these problems could focus on analysis of face to face communication problems or analysis of communicative actions that take place during community meetings.

C. New views of demands on school age children and youth

In the past the child has often been taken to be the passive, receptive member in the interaction triangle of home-child-school. However, within the home context, socialization research has recently begun to recognize that there is a reciprocal process of mutual influence between parent and child. Children often shape the parent's perceptions of children's own needs. There is a need to look critically at the whole school years career of children and youth within the framework of mutual influence, and whether schools are responding to this new perspective. In addition to learning more about perceptions of different needs of children, we can also learn how children's perception of schools change over their school careers.

Specific Research Approaches

o Formal and informal interviewing and observation focusing on children's own perceptions of their roles in school and at home could be sponsored. Recent research on children's peer friendships (e.g. Rubin at Brandeis University and Youniss at Boys Town) have focused on children's reporting of friendships in an interview context, and working with vido-tape recordings of group play situations. Such in-depth clinical work with children could be an effective strategy in research on school versus home experiences.

o Focus on school-life career in which selected children would be followed over several years; and also age-stratified samples of children in a full range of school career situations could be covered in three-year sponsored studies. The concern would be to identify new expectations, perceptions and change of demands as the children move through school.

o Work on children's perception of school should keep in mind the different demands of schools with large and small school populations, and different institutional arrangements which create varying social contexts (e.g., small schools combining many grades, large schools of two or three grades, etc.).

o Communication and language research with children in the home can be enlarged to compare school and home experiences and settings. Work in this area should build on the detailed ethnographic work now being done on language acquistion. In addition, the home should be viewed as an interactive system, not as a static collection of objects and participants to be inventoried. The key question would be: What face-to-face interaction strategies and other non face-to-face communication strategies used in the home also serve in home-school contacts.

D. New views of the family as a network of relationships

Similar to the recommendations from the first NIE Parents As Educators Conference chaired by Hope Jensen Leichter in 1978, the participants at this conference pointed out that past work has tended to be dominated by research which viewed the family as a social system striving toward integration and cohension and as a coordinated sub-system within the organization of the whole society. Such a functionally oriented view of the family has over-emphasized the self-contained character of the family at the expense of the more open-network approach. That is, in much of the previous research the family has been regarded as a set of actors with pre-determined interaction patterns. In this case ineffective outcomes are seen as the result of problems within the family system, rather than as genuine responses to perceived social needs by one or more members, acting out of their own social experience and contacts. Many of the conference participants pointed our that past research guided by the functional paradigm has too often led to negative judgements of many American families as well as culturally biased views.

Many families have only one parent in residence, and many also have several generations living together. Families are influenced by inter-generational contact, by peer contacts (for example, friends of both adult youth members), and neighborhood contacts. The term "dynamics of families" can be usefully conceptualized in terms of networks of communication and influence within the family itself and in its members' relationships to the social environment. This allows attention to the reciprocal nature of social influences, as well as attention to many different patterns of influence within wider social groups, such as the neighborhood and the wider society.

If we are to consider research strategies that focus on the family as a network of relationships, at least three main directions of research should be followed: 1) The major influences upon particular families should be studied in their particular social contexts. 2) The working of particular families towards building a network in response to the social context should be studied. 3) Research strategies should take into account the position of a family itself in the wider network and its potential development within this network (e.g., an Asian family in a small town with few other Asian families defines itself very differently from an Asian family with a large city in which there is an organized "Asian community"). To have a socially viable and culturally realistic concept of families it is necessary to look at the relations between groups of families and the wider society as this is reflected in the particular family's definition of itself.

Specific Approaches

- It follows from these considerations that basic research on the dynamics of families should concentrate on combining multiple methodologies, such as small scale survey work in conjunction with in-depth ethnographic studies of particular communities as well as detailed micro-ethnographic group work with particular families. The multiple methodology approach should make it possible to select distinct samples in order to explore in-depth the families from their own perceptions (e.g., recent models such as Young and Wilmott's, The Symmetrical Family , 1973).

- Research on families as network organizations can build on previous work in anthropological and social psychological traditions, which are concerned with how families define their own organization of daily practices and how they perceive this organization as helpful or constraining to their goals.

- A wider exploration of family networks, beyond the boundaries of kinship ties of individual families, will reveal how families define themselves in relation to neighborhoods.

- Comparative studies of families in different contexts, particularly focusing upon the wider social support systems for the family, and the community network of which the family is a part. In this research it would be important to look at the size of the potential geographic and social distance between homes and schools.

REPORT FROM WORK GROUPS

Work Group Leaders:
Judith Green
Jeffrey Shultz
Robert Yin

Background

The conference participants formed three groups for one and a half hour sessions on both days of the conference. The work group leaders had generated three questions to guide their groups.. These questions and a summary report written by the work group leaders are presented below. The guide questions are:

1. What are the major social issues/problems that need to be addressed by research:

2. Drawing from the conference discussions, what topics are worthy of further research?

3. What is the rationale for support of research on each topic?

What follows is a synthesis of the work of the three groups prepared jointly by the leaders.

Interaction as a Central Concept

The main theme that should underlie research on families as educators is the fact that families are partners with the schools in the educational process. Thus, a research agenda should be based on an overall appreciation of the interdependence of the role of families and schools.

This interactive theme leads to many insights regarding the educational experience of the child/student. First, families and schools may often appear to transmit confliction information to the student. Part of this is related to different values that are held by families and schools, and such differences are worthy of further research. However, there may also be situations of value consensus, yet families and schools are still unable to collaborate productively. Hence, research should also identify circumstances for collaboration, and ways in which families and schools can collaborate to improve the student's educational experience.

Collaborative behavior between families and schools is only one facet of the interaction. Families and schools also have perceptions and make decisions about each other. Thus, families make inferences about what occurs in schools and these inferences may contribute to conflicting messages sent to children. Similarly, school staff make inferences about the family life of their students and may decide to teach certain students differently on the basis of these inferences. The experiences behind these perceptions and decisions as well as the perceptions and decisions themselves ought to be an integral part of further research.

Family-school interaction is also affected by contextual factors: the community setting (e.g., city size), demographic changes, other policy interventions, and economic conditions. These contextual factors must also be examined as a setting for understanding the family-school partnership.

Finally, the interactive theme, involving family, school, and student/child, raises important definitional issues that require further investigation. Most prominent among these issues is the definition of "family", which must be understood to include siblings, extended family, close friends, as well as parents who might influence a child's education. Other important definitional issues involve further elaboration of the "school" environment as well as clearer distinctions between the child's "schooling" vs. his/her "education".

The following list of research topics is based on the preceding programmatic framework. It should be noted that the framework* differs markedly from more typical frameworks that have guided the development of policy research in this area, and that the overall research goal is not merely to study family functioning or learning processes, but to link directly the role of the family to the realm of educational practice.

Research Topics

The topics presented below summarize the research needs identified by participants in three working groups which met during the conference. Within each topic, areas for research are specified. The topics are a way of organizing the research areas and should not be considered independent of each other. In addition, the order of presentation is not meant to imply priority for funding.

A. Focusing on the Child

This area refers to specific demographic, psychological and institutional factors that affect the individual child within the educational setting. Individual performance or attitudes are viewed as the main outcomes of such research. Research which is supported should aim toward the following three outcomes:

1. The effects of family, school, and individual/personality factors on the life histories of academically and economically successful minority students at different ages.

2. The effects of demographic variables particularly studies of birth order within the context of family characteristics e.g. ethnic differences.

3. The effects of sex differences on school adjustment

B. Focusing on the Family

This area refers to interactions among family members, school personnel and others at contact points in the educational process. Description of the nature of the relationships is the primary concern in the following outcomes:

---

* The framework also suggests other research thrusts, such as the role of the child as an intermediary between family and school, which are not directly related to policy concerns but which might be included in any elaboration of the framework.

1. The interactions between family members and school personnel as related to the role of parent involvement in schools.

2. The mutual influences and perceptions among family members, school personnel and students/children.

3. The effects of peer relationships among children, especially after third grade, and their impact on school achievement.

C. Focusing on the Interaction of Home and School

This area refers to institutional as opposed to interpersonal relationships within the educational process. The nature of the relationships between agencies and institutions are the major outcomes of concerns:

1. Differences between home and school interactional/communicative norms.

2. Identification of similarities and differences in functional domains of home and school. This includes specification of which tasks are performed by each institution, and perceptions of the child in differentiating between the two.

3. Identification of similarities and differences in educational contexts between home and school.

Summary of Rationale Discussed in Work Groups

The main theme of this conference is the need for an understanding of how families and schools contribute to the educational development of children across their school careers. The model proposed is an interactive one in the sense that families and schools are seen as partners in the educational life of the child. This approach provides a much broader perspective than that which can be obtained from a prevention or problem-oriented model. The approach proposed can lead to specific policy outcomes of interest to NIE. These include:

1. Improvement of practice that leads to higher school achievement.

2. Improvement of student performance and satisfaction as indicated by achievement measures and school attendance.

3. Improvement in performance of school personnel that leads to increased job satisfaction and lower turnover.

4. Focus on equity issues which may lead to equal treatment of students of different socio-economic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

5. The research topics presented in this report should be judged against a) their likely contributions to policy outcomes and b) use of the following research strategies in the studies:

   1. Longitudinal designs.

   2. Examination of differences within groups (e.g. types of black families).

   3. Analysis of child and family differences within groups (e.g. types of black families).

   4. Development of non-pathological models of families and student behavior in schools.

   5. Use of multiple methods.

   6. Synthesis of existing research and development knowledge for dissemination to educators, families and researchers.

INTRODUCTION

The papers excerpted in this section were available in full form for reference during the conference. As mentioned in Part I, one of the conference objectives was to summarize the latest research and practice knowledge including that on parents' influence on literacy development. Rather than commission a new paper on the topic of literacy, we asked Drs. Robert Hess and Susan Holloway for permission to reproduce two sections of a review paper they had completed for the Reading and Language Studies Division at NIE. In order to summarize what is known about parental influence on literacy, the Families as Educators Team developed a list of propositions based on our reading of the Hess and Holloway paper. The list is reproduced before their paper excerpts. The list also serves as a link between the Hess and Holloway paper and the Keasey paper on "The Ideal: Parents as Motivators of Their Children's School Achievement" which is itself organized around a set of propositions.

The excerpts of the Hess and Holloway paper, and the paper by Keasey were sent to participants two weeks before the conference. Participants were asked to read them before hand since time would not permit an extensive presentation on literacy development and motivation processes.

Shirley Jackson, Director of the Basic Skills Improvement Program in the Office of Education agreed to present her reactions to the propositions developed from the Hess and Holloway paper and to discuss the fact that, depending upon one's definition, between 18 and 64 million people in the United States have literacy problems. Ms. Jackson suggested that the participants view the propositions that introduce the Hess and Holloway paper from the view-point of the following questions rather than simply trying to determine whether the research cited is accurate.

1. Do the propositions from past research suggest how to build the capacity of parents as reading tutors?

2. Do the propositions from past research suggest how much instructional support will be needed to develop programs that can consider the literacy level of parents?

Blake Keasey suggested that the propositions identified also indicate that future work must not be confined only to parents, but to many forces involved in educating — such as the community, the schools, and the peer group. He suggested that future work in the Families as Educators area should consider whether children are getting double messages such as "Get a good education to make it," and "You won't make it because you are not white."

The fact that many messages, or forces, can contribute to strengthening the family's educational roles and that parents can work in partnership with other institutions was emphasized in Dr. Catherine Chilman's review of conceptualizations of the roles of parents as educators. In addition to her review of past educational and social service program attempts to encourage parent roles as educators, Dr. Edward Gotts' paper points out that attempts to influence renewed recognition and acceptance of education as a family and school partnership process have stimulated national debate and Congressional regulations regarding federally funded educational and social service programs.

The full papers are available on request. Citations to the literature have been usually dropped from the excerpts for brevity as have some details of studies and programs cited and other discussion. Omitted material is indicated by three dots except that omitted citations are not indicated to avoid frequent distractions in reading. The choice of excerpts was the sole responsibility of the editor.

PROPOSITIONS ON

PARENTS AS LITERACY EDUCATORS

Some Propositions Discussed In The Hess and Holloway Paper *

Proposition 1 : Parents of readers can be characterized as intelligible and fluent speakers who express a range of semantic relationships

Proposition 2 : Parents of early readers never mention being busy

Proposition 3 : Parents of early readers often comment on how much they enjoy their children

Proposition 4 : Parents of early readers have a commitment and satisfaction with the role of full time primary caretaker

Proposition 5 : Parents of early readers view themselves as frequent readers and enjoy a variety of books

Proposition 6 : Parents, grandparents, older siblings and/or other relatives have provided home tutoring to children identified as early readers

Proposition 7 : Parents who read to their children have more successful readers

Proposition 8 : The home environment of successful readers in primary school can be characterized as one which has an abundance of reading material available

Proposition 9 : The reading material available in homes of successful readers contains knowledge similar to that encountered in the school setting

Proposition 10: Children exposed to new and varied experiences outside the home have stronger reading skills

* Prepared by the editors

EXCERPTS FROM

THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF LITERACY*

Robert D. Hess Susan Holloway

Stanford University

Evidence of an Association Between Family Experience and Reading Ability

This is a summary, with recommendations, of the research literature that deals with the effects of family experience upon reading ability of children. It is limited to (English) reading performance of children in the pre-secondary school years. Most of the studies reviewed are of children in the preschool years and the first six years of elementary school.

This paper has several sections: 1) a summary of the literature that shows family experience to be associated with reading ability; 2) a brief overview of the experimental literature that identifies specific components of the act of reading; 3) a speculative analysis of how these specific skills might be facilitated by family experiences associated with reading performance; 4) an overview of conditions that regulate the capability of the family to provide reading-relevant experiences for children; 5) suggestions about the characteristics of a model that might describe the relationship of family events to reading ability; and 6) some recommendations for research on family experience and acquisition of reading ability.

The research documents in convincing fashion that an association exists between family background and scholastic achievement. Measures of family background used in these studies, however, have typically been gross estimates of socioeconomic status or inventories of aspects of home environments that were presumed to be relevant for performance in school. Measures of scholastic competence typically have been general indicators of ability: IQ tests, aptitude tests, and grades. As a consequence, there is little evidence about the correspondence between specific features of the home environment and identifiable components of academic achievement.

The most relevant literature on family influences and literacy is found in four types of writings: 1) studies of family correlates of reading performance, 2) studies of the process of reading, 3) studies of the development of linguistic abilities in young children, and 4) intervention-research projects that were intended to improve the capability of parents to assist their children to learn to read or to become more proficient readers. Although information from these four areas of research and theory is included in this report, the focus of the review is upon family experience and reading.

---

* A report prepared for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208, June 1979.

Research Approaches to the Study of Family Effects Upon Reading

Most of the studies reviewed here utilized one or more of five methodological approaches:

Contrast Groups ... Early Readers ... Disabled Readers ... Correlational Studies ... Intervention Designs.....

These are gross categories of types of design. The studies differ, of course, in methods used to assess family experience. They utilize self-report, observation of interaction in contrived situations, or observation of naturalistic interaction in the home. They differ, too, in the age ranges of children studied and in methods used to match controls and experimental subjects. The techniques used to assess reading proficiency also vary from study to study.

Despite the variation in approach and procedures of study, results show some consistency across these diverse inquiries into the relationship between family experience and reading performance. We turn now to a summary of the evidence for this association.

Home Experiences that Facilitate Reading: A Summary of the Evidence Promoting Verbal Skills

Several aspects of parental behavior are correlated with the acquisition of verbal skills in children: 1) the types of language used in interaction with the child; 2) encouraging the child's oral verbal skills; and 3) time spent in verbal interaction.

Several investigators have tried to specify particular aspects of maternal language that facilitate acquisition of oral verbal skills in children. There is evidence that the mother's tendency to repeat and elaborate her child's utterances helps the child. The intelligibility and fluency of mothers' speech is also an important factor in linguistic growth as well as the range of semantic relations expressed in maternal speech.

Another important aspect of verbal interactions may be the extent to which the parent encourages a verbal response from her child. This may take place through sheer quantity of verbal stimulation..... Several investigators have found that the mother's use of questions was positively related to certain aspects of language acquisition, while imperatives produced somewhat negative results. The report of Price and Hess offers evidence that urging children to formulate responses that involve creative manipulation of ideas rather than restatement of some aspect of the adults' utterance, results in higher performance on tests of letter recognition and arighmetic skill.

In addition to investigations of the type of language spoken to and requested from children, a number of studies report that the amount of time parent and child spend together is correlated with reading achievement. Presumably, a significant aspect of this experience is the verbal interaction that occurs between the two. In her study of early readers Durkin noticed that the mothers of these children never mentioned being busy and often commented on how much they enjoyed their children. None of the women were employed outside the home. Clark also reports the impression that mothers of early readers shared a commitment and satisfaction with the role of full-time mother. Some families also mentioned another adult or older sibling who enjoyed spending time with the child....

Reading Habits of Parents

Because the child receives an introduction to the function and mechanics of reading in the home, the practices and values of the family bear a significant relationship to the child's subsequent success in reading at school. The family influences the child's attitude through a number of aspects of parental reading: 1) the amount of reading, 2) the quality of reading material (as defined by its relevance to school tasks), and 2) the value placed on reading by parents.

Many investigators have shown that the amount of reading done by parents is related to children's achievement....

An important aspect of parents' modeling of reading is the values and attitudes they convey to their children. One way parents convey their values is by discussing with children the books they have read. Other measures such as amount and quality of reading tap into these values indirectly, but explicit information would also be helpful.

Reading to the Child

When parents read to their children they not only express their own interest in reading, but also expand the children's general knowledge, exposing them to a variety of language styles, and orienting them to the way books are constructed and utilized....

Attempts have been made to isolate the components of reading episodes that indicate the quality of interaction between parent and child,... Flood found that the total number of words spoken, the number of questions asked, as well as the number of questions answered by the child, the number of pre-and post-story questions asked by the parent, and the amount of positive reinforcement given by the parents were all related to test performance.

Availability of Reading and Writing Materials

In homes where reading and writing materials are available, children can experiment with drawing, copying letters and numbers, differentiating colors, and interpreting pictures. They may become familiar with the features composing letters, as well as the general shape of words and sentences. Studies of early readers support the notion that materials can be helpful in developing reading-related skills....

While some families may not be able to purchase a large amount of reading materials, almost all families have access to a library where they can obtain children's books. In studies by Berry, Fisher, Parker, & Zwier; Briggs & Elkind; Clark, and King & Friesen, early readers were frequently taken to the library by their parents. In addition to providing materials, excursions to the library may help to convey parental interest in reading to the child, as well as to set aside a special time for reading without distractions from television or other impinging environmental events.

Exposure to a Variety of Activities

Some experimental evidence has suggested that children's reading skills profit from prior exposure to new and varied experiences. Berry et al. found children who were superior readers in primary school had generally attended more cultural activities than had average readers.... In another study of pre-reading experiences provided in the home, Miller found that most middle and

upper-lower class children had been on family trips while few of the children from low income homes had ever been on such an outing. Miller found correlations between home pre-reading activities and reading readiness in each of the social class groups.... Further research is needed to specify what aspects of the trips promote reading ability.

Help with Reading

Although many professionals in the field of reading advise parents to leave reading instruction to the teacher, studies of early readers show that they usually received some form of direct tutoring from their parents. Some of the parents in Durkin's study set out deliberately to reach their children reading, but only because the children persisted in asking for help in identifying words and letters. The remaining families, while not embarking on a complete reading program, also responded to the children's curiosity by giving occasional assistance. In general, parents identified letters, words, and numbers, helped with spelling and printing, defined words, and demonstrated the sounds of letters. In a few cases, children were able to participate in lessons that their parents were giving to older siblings. They also received tutoring directly from siblings, particularly older sisters....

Regulation and Use of Television

Most children spend a significant portion of their day watching television. Unlike other home experiences discussed in this section, children can select and view TV programs without assistance from adults or older siblings. Some educational programs, notably "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company", are intended to build children's pre-reading and reading skills.... The original evaluation of the first two years of "Sesame Street," conducted by ETS, found that children who were regular viewers showed more knowledge of body parts, letters, numbers, forms, relational terms, classification principles, naming capital letters, and naming numbers than children who rarely watched. The more children watched, the higher they scored on tests in these areas. Additionally, younger children seemed to benefit more than five- and six-year olds. However a reanalysis of this data found that the children who had performed highest on cognitive tests were part of a group who had been encouraged to watch, and who had received personal visits and promotional gifts as part of the experimental program....

Analysis of television's role in intellectual development becomes even more equivocal outside the realm of educational programs. An extensive study of televiewing, conducted in the late 1950's reports that television contributes to a fast start in learning of general knowledge as measured by vocabulary, especially for children above and below the middle group in intelligence. However, by age ten other sources of information such as books and newspapers become more important in learning new words and concepts.

Conditions That Modify The Effectiveness Of The Family To Facilitate Acquisition Of Reading Skills

The central purpose of this review is to identify the component skills that must be present and activated in reading and the specific experiences that families may provide to help young children acquire and develop these skills. Our approach has been to consider these two domains separately, and in the absence of firm evidence, speculate on how they may be linked in the child's home experience.

A model of family influences upon reading ability needs to incorporate other components that indirectly are connected with the transmission process. There are conditions that support or erode the family's capability to provide experiences for children that will enhance their reading skills. Some of these, such as socioeconomic status and financial resources, may be external to the family and represent circumstances over which the family has little control. Other conditions, such as illness, divorce, and disharmony, for example, are internal to the family but not entirely under the control of family members. Some other circumstances are more likely to be within the family's capability to alter. All these circumstances affect the family's ability to provide the kind of environment that the parents might desire. Such circumstances may reduce drastically the effectiveness of any program of intervention. They are important elements in a model of family effects, however, because they regulate the activities that are of potential help to the child. If knowledge about these conditions is available, it may identify the point in the model where ameliorative action can be taken or support offered.

Family Variables

Socioeconomic Status

The relationship between social class and reading achievement has been studied in a number of ways. One approach has been to examine class differences in the types of prereading experiences provided in the home. For example, Miller assessed the prereading experiences provided in families from middle, upper-lower, and lower classes. She found differences between the groups in the frequency with which children were read to, the number of family trips they took, the amount of manipulative material in the home, and the frequency of trips to the library. In general, middle class children participated in the most activities, while upper-lower participated in significantly fewer, and lower-lower the least of all. In a later study, Miller rated the daily schedules of children from the same social classes in terms of the amount of parental interaction and supervision the children typically received. She found that the higher the social class the more opportunity the child had to interact with the mother and the better the child performed on tests of reading readiness and reading achievement.... However, the link between class differences in language ability and reading achievement is not well understood. In a study relating social background, speech, and learning to read, Francis (1974) found that although working class children tended to score lower on the vocabulary section of the Stanford Binet, and used less complex, shorter sentences in a story-telling rask, reading achievement bore no relation to speech complexity, and was related to amount of speech in working class children only. Achievement in reading was related to vocabulary in both classes. Another important point brought out by this study is that there was more within-group variation than between-group variation. Therefore, although skills such as vocabulary and knowledge of ayntax may be crucial for effective reading, individual families within a particular social class may differ widely in the degree to which they provide training in these areas.

Ethnic Differences

With the exception of the Lesser, Fifer, and Clark study, which showed varying patterns of ability among children from different cultural backgrounds, little work has been done that does not confound social class with ethnic differences. This issue will not be presented in detail in this report.

Father Absence

A number of characteristics of father-absent families may have implications for reading achievement. However, these implications will depend to a large extent on the reason for father absence in a particular family. For example, while increased financial stress may be a problem for any family in which the father is absent, stress on family members may be particularly prolonged in families where marital problems are followed by divorce. Other conditions resulting from father absence that may affect a child's ability to read include full time employment by the mother, which may reduce the amount of contact she has with the child, and placement of the child in day care. More information will become available on the impact of father absence as studies begin to control more carefully for the length and reason for father absence....

Family Constellation

Although family size, structure, and spacing have been related to differences in IQ, few studies have examined the relation of family constellation to reading achievement. However, the studies that have been done tend to support the general finding that small families and early ordinal position are conducive to intellectual functioning..... Taylor points out that family practices such as reading aloud, word games, etc., are developed around the particular interests of the firstborn child; subsequent children are required to fit into a system that has already been created. However, younger children may also benefit from having an older sibling who can share reading-related experiences and materials.

While each of these influences—SES, father absence, family constellation—has been found to be correlated with the educational achievement of children, there is wide variation among individual families within each constellation or SES or non-traditional family type. The relations that exist with the family unit provide more information about the family's ability to provide the experiences that affect reading.

Press for School Achievement

..... The family plays an important role in preparing the child for success in the classroom in providing both the experiences essential to the reading act itself and the motivation to undertake intellectual tasks.

A number of dimensions of family interaction are associated with school performance: warmth and nurturance, communication style and effectiveness, and teaching style. One of the most prominent influences of the family, however, is the pressure to succeed in academically useful tasks.

Studies of the effects of parental press for achievement use a variety of techniques to measure press, and these cover a range of behavior. They include 1) expecting early mastery of developmental and school-related tasks, 2) criticizing academic achievement, 3) making suggestions for improvement, 4) demanding high performance, 5) offering praise or nurturance for achievement, and 6) monitoring the child's school work and achievement.

These studies use a variety of procedures to measure verbal achievement but there is consistency among them in pattern of findings. Parental expectations for high quality performance tend to be associated with competence on verbal tasks (word accuracy, and higher verbal scores than quantitative scores on IQ or scholastic measures) and high scores on reading readiness tests.

The function of the family in preparing children to read covers many aspects of the total process. Family experiences facilitate the acquisition of specific skills of reading (decoding, associating sound with visual symbols, etc.) Its most important impact may be the effect it has upon the child's motivation to read. This discussion of these affective and motivational factors is illustrative only. A comprehensive review would be a major task in itself.

Even a brief inspection of the literature, however, shows that the family has a crucial role to play in developing general abilities that are fundamental and prerequisite to reading (attention, interest, motivation, self-confidence). The school can teach the specific skills much more effectively if motivational preparation has already been made.

The roles of family and school are thus obviously complementary. The relationship and interaction between these two sources of support for the child is a topic that deserves detailed consideration in its own right. Their respective contributions to children's reading needs to be examined comprehensively. It is questionable whether the school is as effective as the family in helping children acquire motivational precursors of reading. Its effectiveness to teach reading skills may be seriously limited without the cooperation of the family.

Appendix A

The Application of Research Findings to Programs of Intervention

Professionals frequently advise parents on the philosophy and techniques of child rearing and create programs intended to improve the capability of parents to help their children in various ways. Some of this advice and some programs of intervention have been directed toward the roles that parents might play in encouraging the development of reading skills. A comprehensive review and critique of advice-to-parents literature and intervention programs is not central to this report. Such an evaluative summary would be a separate effort. The topic is of sufficient interest, however, to deserve a brief discussion....

Advice to Parents

Educational journals frequently feature articles by teachers, school administrators, and researchers containing advice to parents on how to promote reading skills in their children. Some of the suggested activities are intended to develop specific reading-related skills. Others are designed to enhance the child's verbal abilities, instill an appreciation of reading, orient the child to the function of letters and words in reading, and motivate the child to achieve in school. Throughout the literature, a small number—less than ten—of the activities appear consistently, suggesting that a common sense consensus exists on what home experiences are highly desirable, if not essential, in learning to read.

Practice verbal skills. Many writers emphasize the importance of promoting the child's verbal skills, since spoken language parallels and interacts with written language on many levels. For example, at the phonemic level, playing word games and learning nursery rhymes has been suggested as a way of training children to pay attention to sounds, and to isolate them from the rest of the word. Presumably children who are aware of spoken sounds will have an easier time mapping the sounds onto graphemes....

Promote appreciation for reading. Another important facet of the family's contribution to reading readiness is communicating an appreciation of reading. The most commonly suggested activity for this purpose is simply reading to the child. In doing so, parents not only demonstrate their own interest in books, but also introduce the child to the range of ideas encompassed by written material.... Some writers carry the idea of modeling farther by advocating that parents demonstrate their interest and enthusiasm by reading freqquently on their own.

Providing reading materials. In addition to developing an appreciation for reading, the child must be exposed to appropriate materials. Many writers stress the importance of taking children to the library, both as a way of providing access to books and of generally stimulating the child's interest in reading. A number of people also suggested keeping ample reading and writing materials in the home. Once children have acquired basic reading skills, some writers consider it particularly important that parents help them locate books and magazines pertinent to their current interests.

Encourage curiosity and exploration. A necessary backdrop to acquiring verbal skill, reading appreciation, and utilization of materials is the development of an active, curious attitude toward the environment and toward learning. This attitude can be encouraged by exposing children to varied experiences, which may foster new interests, as well as enriching their experience and developing their vocabulary. Another way of encouraging activity is to support the child's impulse to explore the environment, from infancy through school age.

Regulate television viewing. Many writers mention the detrimental effects of television, which not only takes up time that might be spent with books, but also requires nothing of the child but passive absorption. Unlike some of the other experiences discussed in this section, the amount of television a child watches is at least partly a function of his or her own interests rather than merely the parents' own motivation or ability to monitor the activity. Some parents may find it difficult to regulate televiewing if they encounter resistance from the child.

Deliberate tutoring. Many articles urge parents to take an active role in teaching prereading skills....

Few of the suggestions outlined in this section pertain to direct tutoring in reading skills; those authors limited their advice to reading readiness skills such as identification of sounds, or familiarity with reading and writing materials. In part, this focus can be attributed to a reluctance to introduce reading per se in the home, without the benefit of a professional instructor. Once the children are in school, however, suggestions emerge concerning complementary home reading programs....

Intervention with parents

Because preparation for reading, and continuing emotional support throughout the primary grades in the home are recognized as important factors in reading success, some school systems, public agencies, and individual professionals have developed programs to reach parents how to incorporate into their family life some of the desirable experiences. We acknowledge this literature but do not attempt to review it.

EXCERPTS FROM

PARENTS AS MOTIVATORS OF THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Blake Keasey, Ph.D.
Department of Psychiatry
Loma Linda University Medical Center
Loma Linda, California 92354

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine how parents might better serve as motivators of their children's school performance. The growing interest in enlisting and training parents to play this role follows from many of the findings of the Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966). The results of this report seriously damaged the belief that schools could be the instrument of social change that could close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged children. Little support was found for the assumption that schools could do better if only improvements could be made in facilities, the quality of teachers, or the design of curriculum...

This pattern of findings has been interpreted (Maehr, 1974) as an indication of the importance of sociocultural factors in creating and controlling achievement. From this it follows that the home must be recognized as playing a critical role in the educational process and that what happens outside the classroom is equally if not more important than what happens within it.

Given the recognized importance of the home, what can be done within the home to facilitate the school performance of children? A survey of the literature on home intervention programs designed to facilitate school performance, reveals that virtually all of them have been directed toward infants and preschoolers. Many of these programs have evidenced substantial success (Gordon, 1968, Klaus and Gray, 1968; Lambie and Weikert, 1970)....

Given the demonstrated success of parent-oriented, home-based intervention programs with preschoolers, why has so little been done with elementary school children? The most likely reason stems from the confusion in the minds of both parents and educators as to the optimal role that parents can play in facilitating their child's performance in elementary school... Even when parents and educators attempt to place parents in a more important role, they will discover that very little is known about exactly what that role should be. The purpose of this paper is to review currently existing information that might lend some direction to the role of parents as motivators of their child's educational performance.

Motivation

Both parents and educators generally agree that a major variable affecting classroom performance is motivation. Numerous definitions and theories of motivation have been offered (see Jung, 1978, for a review). However, there do seem to be certain commonalities that appear in most definitions of motivation. Perhaps central among these features is the notion of an individual who is

activated or energized toward achieving some goal. His resulting behavior is assumed to be intentional and persistent over time. . .

... The two major theories of motivation that deal most directly with these issues are achievement motivation and attribution theory. First, the basic assumptions of these two theories will be reviewed and them empirical support for their various contentions will be reviewed.

... Empirical research related to achievement motivation and attribution theory will be presented as it applies to various propositions.

Propositions

Proposition 1: Performance in school is positively related to achievement motivation.

It would not be worth attempting to increase school performance by increasing achievement motivation unless a positive relationship exists between them. Heilbrun (1966) concluded that there is substantial and consistent evidence that educational performance is related to achievement motivation. Competence in school and other areas has been found to be related to two of Crandall's components of achievement motivation; minimal standards and attainment value (Battle, 1966). An important factor in school performance, task persistence, has been found to be related to attainment value (Battle, 1965; Crandall et al., 1962; Stein et al., 1971).

It is also important to note that once achievement-oriented behavior emerges in elementary school children, it tends to continue....

Proposition 2: Parents need compelling reasons to motivate their children's school performance.

Before we can deal with how parents might go about motivating their child to perform well in school, we should consider why they would want to do this. Certainly they might because of the feelings of pride that could result from better performance or to avoid the troubles parents typically experience when their child is doing poorly in school. Perhaps an even more salient motivator is the impact that educational attainment is likely to have on their child's occupational status and lifetime earnings. Educational attainment still remains the single most important measurable determinant of the occupational status of a person's first job (Alexander and Eckland, 1975)....

Given the support for Propositions 1 and 2, it becomes appropriate to examine the antecedents of achievement motivation and performance....

Proposition 3: Moderate warmth facilitates achievement motivation and behavior.

Most investigations reviewed by Crandall and Battle (1970) have found that a moderate, rather than a high level of warmth or nurturance is most facilitative of achievement behavior. Low achievement behavior is associated not only with high warmth, but also with high levels of rejection or punishment. Often children who feel rejected get back at their parents through underachieving in school (Lanning and Roberts, 1968)....

Proposition 4: Parental involvement facilitates achievement motivation and behavior.

Although warm and accepting parents usually are very involved with their children, this need not be the case since these are two separate processes. Consequently the effects of parental involvement upon achievement will be reviewed separately.

Perhaps the influence of parental involvement has been best documented in the phenomena of early readers....

Proposition 5: Firm control facilitates achievement motivation and behavior.

In a series of studies, Baumrind (1973), has found that the most competent children in terms of independence and achievement behavior are those who have what she terms authoritative parents - a pattern of firm control, moderate warmth and the use of reason associated with some punishment. Authoritative parents were neither highly restrictive nor highly coercive. Children form highly restrictive families were found to be low in achievement-oriented behavior (Barton et al., 1974)....

Proposition 6: Certain parental reinforcement strategies facilitate achievement motivation.

In their literature review, Stein and Bailey (1973) concluded that differential reinforcement by parents can produce independence and achievement-oriented behavior. They suggested that some of the inconsistency in findings concerning independence training follows from the failure of investigators to clearly distinguish between instrumental independence and emotional independence. The former concerns the child learning to do things for himself at an earlier age, whereas the latter and more crucial capacity centers on the child's ability to move away from parents emotionally and function on his own....

Proposition 7: Parental expectancies influence achievement motivation and performance.

Many studies have documented the positive relationship between the levels of parents' expectations and their child's level of achievement motivation and performance (Callard, 1968; Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959; Toulitas and Lindholm. 1974). Underachieving children typically have parents who hold low levels of aspiration for their children (Lanning and Roberts, 1968)....

Proposition 8: Parental models influence achievement motivation.

In this area, the influence of sex role definitions appears to play a very important role. Stein and Bailey (1973) argue that identification with the mother by female children appears antagonistic to an achievement orientation unless the mother is an atypical model... In a literature review, Etaugh (1974) found that among children of working mothers those whose mothers had professional occupations showed the highest achievement motivation.

The positive impact of parental models is well documented in histories of children who become early readers (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966; 1972)....

Can families whose children have shown little achievement motivation prior to entering school expect improvement with the appropriate kinds of changes within the family situation? A tentative "yes" for some children is provided by the findings of Crandall and Battle (1970)... Crandall and Battle also suggest that achievement-oriented behavior may continue to be valued by some children not for itself but because it is a means of acquiring important social reinforcers; such as approval, respect, recognition and/or affection of others.

Crandall's observations seem to highlight the potential impact of the processes presented in Propositions 5 and 6, but the sizable body of relatively consistent knowledge presented in those and other propositions seems to have a minimal impact upon the majority of parents. This follows largely because most parents do not select their child-rearing practices out of a book or on the advice of an expert. Rather they emerge as a subtle consequence of their own childhood experiences and resulting personalities. Consequently the task of producing genuine and significant changes in the child-rearing practices of most parents would be difficult and long-term....

Given this picture, what can be done on a more short-term basis to increase achievement motivation and school performance? Two different approaches seem most promising at this time....

Proposition 9: Achievement motivation can be increased through training with resultant improvement in performance.

McClelland and Winter (1969) found that the motivational patterns of relatively mature businessmen could be changed so that they became more achievement motivated and more productive. The central focus of training involved getting achievement thoughts to become more dominant in the individuals' minds... Kolb (1965) designed a summer program for underachieving high school boys that was modeled after McClelland's work. His program involved a lot of role-taking in which boys continually tried out the role of an achieving person and practiced thinking achievement thoughts. He found significant grade improvement from middle-class boys a year and a half later but little improvement from lower-class boys. Kolb felt that the lower-class boys were not provided with continuing reinforcement for their achievement motivation....

Proposition 10: Achievement motivation and performance can be improved by changing children's causal attributions.

If children's achievement motivation and performance are both mediated by their perceptions of causality, then changing their perceptions should change achievement motivation and performance. Presently there are several studies that have found this kind of relationship (Andrews, 1974; Dweck, 1975; Heckhausen, 1975). The common message to children involved in these studies has been, you could do better if you would expend more effort. This helps to change their attribution of failure from the relatively stable factors of low ability and task difficulty to the internal factor of effort....

Proposition 11: Achievement motivation and performance are facilitated by increasing children's belief in an internal locus of control.

deCharms (1968) reinterprets achievement motivation in terms of his concepts of origins and pawns... deCharms contends that the highly motivated "origin" works harder, more effectively and persists longer. deCharms' notion closely resembles Rotters's (1954) concept of locus of control. Rotter's concept refers to whether or not an individual perceives that he has control over the things that happen to him. Rotter terms those differing perceptions, internal and external locus of control.

Rather strong support for the locus of control notion comes from the Coleman Report (1966), which found that the best single predictor of school success was a belief in internal control. For blacks, a strong sense of internal control was twice as important as any other variable. Among older blacks, belief in internal control accounted for three times as much of their achievement variance as it did among whites....

Since it appears that achievement motivation and performance are both systematically related to an individual's perception of locus of control, which varies systematically with social class, then what can be done to enhance a child's belief in an internal locus of control? Maehr (1974) offered a couple of suggestions about situational factors that would probably increase internality in a school setting. One is freedom from external evaluation and the other is freedom to choose among alternatives....

Proposition 12: Achievement motivation and behavior can be undermined by the promise of extrinsic rewards.

A recent conceptualization closely related to the locus of control notion is the intrinsic/extrinsic motivation distinction (Deci, 1971). Extrinsic motivation exists when an individual engages in an activity in order to obtain a reward, which is completely independent of the activity itself... In contrast, intrinsic motivation exists when an individual engages in an activity only for the satisfaction gained from the activity itself. There is a growing body of research (Lepper et al., 1973; Greene and Lepper, 1974; Lepper and Greene, 1975) documenting that children's initial interest in an activity (intrinsic motivation) is undermined when extrinsic rewards are promised for performing that activity.

The operation of some of the components of intrinsic motivation are evidenced in the history of early readers....

It also appears that the parents' style of reading to their children is important. It needs to be done in such a way that the child feels involved and senses that he has some control over the process (Durkin, 1972; Flood, 1977)....

Proposition 13: School achievement is positively related to self-esteem.

Although in his review, Shea (1976) concluded that internality has a stronger relationship to achievement than does self-esteem, the latter does seem to have an effect. Chang (1976) found it to be significantly related to achievement in reading and mathematics among fourth and sixth graders. A positive relationship between self-esteem and school achievement was found in fifth graders (Simon and Simon, 1975). Poor self-esteem is characteristic of underachievers (Lanning and Roberts, 1968)....

Achievement Motivation is Not Enough

Although the focus of this paper has been on motivation, specifically achievement motivation, there are a few important qualifications that must be recognized. Merton (1957) has pointed out that although most people have the same achievement goals, they differ in their awareness of the means to achieve their goals and in their access to success. There is evidence that this discrepancy between goals and means exists for children in some sub-cultures. Katz (1968) reported that the majority of black parents who are above the poverty level desire a college education for their sons. However, this desire is discrepant with the amount of effort they devote to their children's educational needs. Most of these mothers attempt to socialize their children for academic achievement by laying down verbal rules and regulations about classroom conduct. This is coupled with punishment for detected transgressions. However, these mothers fail to provide adeauate guidance or encouragement for their children's efforts. Thus, for many black children, parents are demanding high academic performance, but they are not providing instruction in how to achieve this highly desired level of performance. A similar socialization pattern has been observed (Evans and Anderson, 1973) among Mexican-American families who stress education and encourage their children to do well in school. An anthropologically-oriented study (Obgu, 1974) conducted among minority children in California has found a similar pattern of conflicting pressures with resulting frustration and defensiveness on the part of both parents and teachers and alienation in children....

Conclusion

There seem to be several clear and consistent antecedents of achievement motivation and behavior. Many are relatively stable family characteristics which would require considerable time and outside help to change. On a more immediate basis, parents could be provided with specific training procedures for their children in both achievement motivation and attribution of causality. However, it should be noted that parent-oriented programs that have been successful in the past have required a fair amount of repeated contact and support from resources outside the family (Gordon, 1968; Klaus and Gray, 1968; Lambie and Weikert, 1977; Umansky and Umansky, 1977)... Although it is beyond the scope of this paper, it still needs to be recognized that increasing achievement motivation without providing adequate guidance as to the means of achieving is a serious disservice for all concerned. Still off in the future remains the question of suitable opportunities for both further education and employment for those whose achievement motivation has led to some initial success. This remains a major obstacle for minority group children in this country.

EXCERPTS FROM

LEGISLATED ROLES OF PARENT INVOLVEMENT

Edward E. Gotts
Division of Childhood and Parenting
Appalachia Educational Laboratory

The past 15 years have witnessed several federal legislative provisions targeted at producing parent involvement in their children's learning and development. To a much lesser extent and only more recently, legislative initiatives have sought to engender a broadly-felt sense of citizen responsibility for the welfare of all American children. To examine these trends, this paper first considers the wider impact of governmental policies and practices—both those that are explicit and those that are commonly unrecognized—upon children and families. The consideration of such policies and practices is used to create a backdrop against which to examine both (a) their impacts, and (b) contemporary discussion and research on "family policy."

After establishing the foregoing context, the paper reviews, for some of the major legislated roles of parent involvement, their origins, current forms, and emerging directions. Following this review, the paper examine some state and local governmental influences on parent involvement practices. Finally current school practices of parent involvement in key issues are surveyed.

Impacts of Governmental Policies and Practices

Governmental policies are both explicit and implicit; practices likewise are sometimes intentionally directed to particular ends and sometimes tend to produce unrecognized impacts. In legislation directed toward children and families, one can detect the following types of functional impacts upon state and local governments, private agencies, and individual citizens: (a) stimulation or encouragement; (b) guidance and regulation; (c) prompting of enforcement, litigation, monitoring, evaluation, and accountability functions. There are citable instances of each of these types of impacts in programs requiring parent involvement. Obviously the range and variety of data which could be presented are, therefore, immense. Thus, the approach taken here is to select some more notable examples to illustrate the concept of impacts.

The former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), Califano prepared a position paper on American families for use during the 1976 Presidential campaign. By his analysis, governmental policies were responsible for high rates of unemployment and inflation, posing a most severe threat to family life. He cited the following as examples of family strengthening governmental policies and practices: child welfare services, provision of child care, Social Security, food and nutrition programs, child abuse prevention, public education, and student financial aid. He viewed the following as having detrimental impacts: government transfer payments, separation and uprooting of families (e.g., military transfers); welfare policies that penalize fathers remaining in the home; too low of a personal income tax exemption for one's dependent children; income tax discrimination against child care by close relatives; inadequate medical coverage; rigid work schedules for federal employees; urban renewal destruction of neighborhoods; and segregation of the elderly in public housing.

Since that time family impact studies have increased markedly. For example, when the Journal of Marriage and the Family solicited contributions for a special issue on "Family Policy," the editors were impressed with the variety and numbers of good papers submitted.... They observed, moreover, that the field is moving beyond doing only traditional evaluation research of how family-oriented programs are working. Two new dimensions were found: (1) family impact analysis "....to determine the actual or probable impacts of a given policy or program on families, both in terms of its intent and in its unanticipated or laten consequences"... and (2) research for family policy to determine if a particular family pattern is problematic....

Family Policy

Some legislative action in recent years, has begun to deal with selected family policy issues. Public Law (P.L.) 93-247, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (Federal Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1978) came about after research and professional concern had reached monumental proportions. This is a flow-down type of legislation which requires states to develop new child protective legislation which follows a recommended pattern of model legislation—before the respective states are eligible to receive federal funds for child abuse and neglect services....

The Family Rights and Privacy Act ... was another Congressional venture into policy setting. For children under 18 years of age, the law specifies the rights of parents to examine, challenge, and amend their children's school records, while requiring school assistance and cooperation plus school action to protect the privacy of school records.

Teen-age pregnancy has risen dramatically since 1965, prompting Congress to authorize comprehensive services to prevent teen-age pregnancy and to help girls who become pregnant.... Encouraging students to stay in and finish school is one goal encouraged by this bill. It is noteworthy that this area of inter-generational family concern has been acted upon, despite the great controversy normally engendered in Congress by matters relating to contraception, abortion, and private sexual behavior....

The specific family policy-creating legislation cited above has one common thread throughout: each act was the product of a crisis climate. Family policy generated in this fashion is likely to be piecemeal, duplicative, difficult to administer, and perhaps distractive from other central family policy issues which should also be addressed....

The history of family policy legislation, being drafted for crisis issues only, would make it seem unlikely that the Congress will respond to these latter more preventive approaches of providing training and information to parents, even though the public has favored this approach in the most recent, national polls of public attitudes toward eeucation....

In lieu of Congressional action on family policy legislation, President Carter announced on October 15, 1979, to the National Catholic Charities Convention that he is creating a new Office for Families within DHEW to develop governmental policies and programs affecting families. What seems apparent from the timing of the announcement is that the Office is being readied to deal with the aftermath of the White House Conference on Families....

An intriguing approach to federal policy input has been reported by Lazar of Cornell University who has worked with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers on a collaborative study. They have prepared "debate packets" around ten policy issues and distributed them to PTAs across the country for discussion. After discussion the groups vote for their preferred conclusions. Concurrently they have organized a half dozen volunteer multi-professional groups in varied locations across the country to discuss the same issues. They are now trying to blend the opinions from 30,000 PTA units with those of their panels of professionals and experts....

Currently Legislated Parenting Roles

Careful examination reveals that new parenting roles typically have been introduced by federal legislative actions as part of some larger programmatic thrust (e.g., Head Start, E.S.E.A. Title I, Title XX of the Social Security Act.). Irrespective of the particular programmatic setting for which congressional action has prescribed parental involvement roles, however, it seems clear that the legislative intent for all such recently created roles has been based upon an underlying ideal....

It is useful, therefore, to commence with Head Start parent involvement as a beginning. Legislatively, Head Start is the generic name applied to several related early intervention models, in the sense that the policy and performance standards for Head Start apply to them as well... Thus it is unnecessary to examine separate provisions for each model (e.g., for Home Start, Project Developmental Continuity, Parent-Child Centers, Child and Family Resources Program).

The parent involvement objectives of Head Start are:

(a) Provide a planned program of experiences and activities which support and enhance the parental role as the principal influence in the child's education and development.

(b) Provide a program that recognizes the parent(s) as: (1) Responsible guardians of their children's well being. (2) Prime educators of their children. (3) Contributors to the Head Start program and to their communities.

(c) Provide the following kinds of opportunity for parent participation: (1) Direct involvement in decision making in the program planning and operations. (2) Participating in classroom and other program activities as paid employees, volunteers or observors. (3) Activities for parents which they have helped to develop. (4) Working with their own children in cooperation with Head Start staff.

The program must prepare a parent involvement plan that implements voluntary participation. It must specify how the plan provides methods and opportunities for involving parents in (a) personal development, (b) experiences in child development, (c) leading children in learning and developmental activities, (d) health, mental health, dental, and nutritional education; (e) identification and use of family and community resources; (f) recognizing continuing education opportunities; and (g) interaction with teachers and other staff regarding their children's needs and progress. It must indicate a plan for two-way communication and periodic information shsring. Finally, the plan must provide for parental and interested area resident input to influence the programs; their participation in implementation; and technical support for securing needed assistance in the community... This is the ideal.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (E.S.E.A.) is designed to provide compensatory education to children from low-income families... The parent involvement standards parallel those of Head Start except that Title I, being school-based, does not require the same extent of involvement in health and nutrition issues. Parent Advisory Councils (PAC's) are to be formed at the school level and at the district level... Title I programs also encourage parents to engage in volunteer activities at school, provide them training and program information, and encourage them to carry out home learning activities.

The Basic Skills Act, Title II under the Education Amendments of 1978, provides also under the National Basic Skills Improvement provisions for The Parent Participation program. This program assists projects that enlist parents and volunteers in teaching basic skills to children... The Out-of-School Basic Skills Improvement Program may also include parent-oriented activities.

The parent involvement activity that is attracting the largest amount of attention in public schools, however, is none of the above. It involves all schools rather than just those serving children of low income background. It is the Education of (All) Handicapped Children Act (P. L. 94-142)....

Several "Rights of Parents of Handicapped Children" are authorized. (1) Parents are to be notified of and strongly urged to participate in the Individual Educational Program (IEP) planning process. (2) They have the right to obtain an independent evaluation of their child (at school district expense, under certain conditions). (3) The school district must notify parents in writing before proposing or refusing to initiate or change the child's program, placement, classification, and so forth. (4) All records are protected by a confidentiality provision which resembles the school records privacy provision for all children. (5) Parents have the right to initiate an impartial due process hearing on any pertinent matter. All of these provisions regarding parental rights are couched in "due process" terminology. This is the ideal, once more....

The foregoing ideal roles have been achieved to some extent in reality. There have been difficulties in involving parents in Title I activities, including PAC's. By one analysis these difficulties stem from the PAC's overly exclusive focus on Title I issues, resulting in isolation from other school activities. Parental involvement has also been an area of difficulty in the implementation of P.L. 94-142, as has the identification and training of parent surrogates... There is also a broadly felt and undocumentable concern that parental reactions to P.L. 94-142 will eventually result in a large wave of expensive litigation that will drain off school resources and parental energies, and which will not serve the best interests of the children affected. The heavy legalese in which the parental rights are framed and stated serves to stimulate such fears and may, in fact, result in such occurences in the future....

In what may sound like a gloomy perspective, Cohen concluded that a thorough analysis of recent reforms toward creating citizen/parent/community participation in and control of education, the invariable result is the strengthening of the power of professionals instead. Cohen's analysis suggests that this is due as much to citizen inertia as to other causes. Thus, if the central issue of parent involvement is seen as school control...the cause may already be lost, except where control is more readily shared as in Head Start. An alternative goal conception of parent involvement is one of partnership and of the development of parental skills. The evidence suggests that this latter goal conception may be more attainable within the framework of public school governance.

State and Local Legislation

Non-federal legislation for affecting parent involvement practices is generally found in the more affluent states such as California. California's statewide Early Childhood Education (ECE) program serves children from K-3 in schools with the greatest educational need. One of the program's primary purposes is to restructure the ways that school districts involve parents. The ECE parents are encouraged to participate in planning and evaluation and to serve in advisory capacities. The California state Bilingual Education program, for K-12, serves limited and non-English speaking children. PAC's are a standard feature of the Bilingual Program, with the purposes of parent involvement being similar to those for the ECE program. Finally California operates an Educationally Disadvantaged Youth (EDY) Program which follows federal Title I criteria in its support of parent involvement for children from preschool through grade 12.

The NIE's state compensatory program analysis revealed that state compensatory education was Title I - like in its eligibility requirements and services provided... State programs almost never went beyond Title I services, so failed to demonstrate new parent involvement practices which might help in the replanning of Title I services....

At an interstate level, the Appalachian Regional Commission also supports a wide range of programs for children, many of which have strong parent involvement components.

It seems most unlikely to the present writer that local education agencies (LEA's) are providing for parent involvement under local legislative provision, nor was evidence of such activity encountered in the literature reviewed. This issue should not be confused with that of whether LEA's are encouraging parent involvement with local resources; some are. It is conceivable, however, that with revenue sharing funds, for example, a county or a major metropolitan district might use such funds to achieve parent involvement in the context of such program areas as substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, child abuse. If this occurred, it is also conceivable that such involvement might be required by the county or municipal unit managing such funds.

Current School Practices

Prior and current school practices in involving parents have been reviewed andplaced within an overall taxonomic structure (Gotts, Spriggs, & Sattes, 1979). This taxonomic structure is reproduced from that analysis as Appendix A to this paper. Since Appendix A covers most general questions about parenting program classifications, the balance of this section will be used to look at some key issues around which some school systems and other organizations are involving parents.

Parents currently can be present during collective bargaining sessions in three states: California, Florida, and Minnesota. In addition, they are participating in a special collective bargaining experiment in Rochester, New York. In this experiment they have a more explicitly active role of submitting "...proposals to the district's contract package and (articulating) concerns...," for example, regarding curriculum and school discipline. This experiment places parents in the role of asserting their rights as advocates of their children's interests, so that these interests are protected against inadvertant encroachment during bargaining between school boards and teacher groups.

B.D. Bowles of the Wisconsin R&D Center has conducted a systematic naturalistic study of school-community relations. In his study, parent involvement was treated as an independent variable whose possible effects were examined. He

found that while communication, participation, and involvement may influence community attitudes toward schools, they did not invluence student achievement unless they culminated in problem solving or conflict resolution. This was especially true for children from the lower socioeconomic level of the community....

The Parent Education Follow Through Program in Yakima, Washington follows the Ira Gordon or Florida model. The model seeks to promote these parent involvement roles: (a) teacher or own child, (b) paraprofessional (e.g., home visitor), (c) decision maker (via PAC), (d) adult learner (for self-enhancement and for understanding own child), (e) audience, and (f) classroom volunteer. The program has met with considerable success in Yakima (as elsewhere) and is thoroughly instutionalized there as a part of the school system.

Two reading programs are of potential interest. The Northwest R & D Laboratory collaborated with the Idaho Department of Education to involve parents in reading to thier children at home for 15 minutes per day. Bumper stickers carry the reminder, "Have You Read With Your Child Today?" In Asheville, North Carolina, under the inspirational leadership of Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., parents and other interested citizens learn to serve as individual reading tutors in the local schools. The participation is enthusiastically received by most school personnel.

APPENDIX A

I. Primary Focus on Parents

A. Parent Groups to Meet Parents' Own Needs While Dealing with Parenting Issues (Examples: Parents without Partners; Transactional Analysis; AEL Parent Discussion Guides)

B. Training/Educating Parents to be Coordinators of Forces and Resources in Their Children's and Their Own Lives (Examples: voucher systems; The National Parent Federation for Day Care and Child Development)

C. Parent Training for New (Parenting) Roles Outside the Home (Examples: ACYF efforts to prepare parent paraprofessionals; parents as tutors; home visitors; classroom aides)

II. Parental Skills Focus: General

A. For Adults

1. General Parent Education (Prevention/Developmental) (Examples: Child Study Association of America; parent (education" programs)

2. General Parenting Training (Preventative/Developmental) (Examples: Florida model; Verbal Interaction Project)

3. General Parent Education (Corrective/Ameliorative) (Examples: foster parent training)

4. General Parent Training (Corrective/Ameliorative) (Examples: TADS four Training Parents to Teach Models; Herber's Wisconsin program)

B. For Children

1. General Pre-Parent Education (Preventative/Developmental) (Examples: Exploring Childhood curriculum, if non-experiential; Family Life Curriculum)

2. General Pre-Parent Training (Preventative/Developmental) (Examples: Exploring Childhood curriculum, if experiential; peer tutoring)

3. Teen-age Parents (Corrective/Ameliorative) (Examples: NACSP-related efforts; Florence Crittenton services; school law changes)

III. Parental Skills Focus: Specific

A. Parenting Programs Having Specialized (Limited) Goals (Preventative/Developmental)
(Examples: ECS child abuse prevention effort; prenatal classes; school entry orientations)

B. Parenting Programs Having Specialized (Limited) Goals (Corrective/Ameliorative)
(Examples: Parents Anonymous; neglect and abuse "hot lines;" crisis nursery)

IV. Parent Linkages to Institutions/Parent Involvement

A. Home-School Communications Development
(Examples: parent-school conferences; Sprigle's "learning to learn" emphasis on home-school understanding)

B. Parent Involvement in a Non-Central Supportive Role (Involvement-1)
(Examples: fund raising; volunteers in non-instructional aide roles)

C. Parent Involvement in Governance and Advisory Functions (Involvement-2)
(Examples: P.L. 94-142 provisions; Institute for Responsive Education; Parent Advisory Councils under E.S.E.A. or E.S.A.A.)

D. Collaborative Relations of Parents and Programs (Involvement-3)
(Examples: cooperative day care or nursery school' "contracting" systems between parents and schools)

V. Specific or Limited Assistance to Families

A. Parenting Programs to Complement or Supplement Family Roles/ Functions (Preventive/Developmental)
(Examples: day care services; Infant Education Research Project, E. Schaefer; CDA Consortium efforts in child care)

B. Parenting Programs to Complement or Supplement Family Roles/ Functions (Corrective/Ameliorative)
(Examples: protective services; foster care; homemaker services)

VI. General or Extensive Assistance to Families

A. Restructuring Society to Support Families (Preventive/ Developmental)
(Examples: "technological cradle;" family advocacy; call for family impact statements on public laws; family policy formulation)

B. Comprehensive Family Support and Protective Systems (Corrective/Ameliorative)
(Examples: Parent-Child Centers; Child and Family Resource Program; intensive casework services; Home-Based Services, U. Iowa Clearinghouse type)

TYPOLOGIES OF PARENTS AS EDUCATORS

Catherine S. Chilman, Ph.D.
School of Social Welfare
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Introduction: A Brief History of Parent Education in the United States

Many of today's psychologists, educators, and other human service professionals appear to think that parent education was born in the mid 1960's, as one part of the "war against poverty." Although parent education and more specifically, parent as educator roles have had special characteristics in the late 1960's and the 1970's, many essential aspects of today's parent involvement programs are similar to those established by earlier generations.

National organizations concerned with parent education in the United States made their first appearance in the 1880's and nation-wide parent education programs have been in existence ever since that time. As pointed out in the following outline, Parents as Partners in Education: A Historical Perspective, the goals of these programs have shifted from time to time in accordance with popular perceptions of central national or local problems, as well as the nature and sources of funding and the knowledge available at different periods. Methods of parent education have also shifted from time to time as a reflection of larger trends in educational philosophies. Then, too, popular and professional enthusiasm for parent educational programs has waxed and waned over the decades, partly as a result of shifts in popular and professional perceptions of the effectiveness of parent education as an instrument of social and behavioral change.

Outline of Paper*

1. Parents as Partners in Education: An Historical Perspective

The importance of parents as educators of their children has been recognized in some of our earliest recorded documents, including the Bible. In modern times, the far-from-new concept has a way of reappearing each 20 years or so as if it were a novel discovery.

Emphasis on parents as educators seems to have particularly occurred since the late 18th century following the appearance of Emile by Jean Jacques Rousseau. During the early 19th century, numerous manuals on "mothercraft" appeared - emphasizing the important role of mothers in the "moral development" of their children. The Sunday School movement reinforced these concepts.

Education in the United States experienced a general explosion after the Civil War, with the spread of industrialism, urbanization and the beginnings of the progressive era. Adult education was one feature of this movement. During the 1870's, and from then on, middle class women formed numerous study groups, including those in parent education.

G. Stanley Hall, the famous child psychologist, gave great impetus to the Child Study Movement during the 1880's and 90's and enthusiastically pushed parent education.

---

* Dr. Chilman spoke from this outline at the conference. The paper itself, produced after the conference, is available on request.

The first national mother's congress in 1897 grew out of earlier local study groups including Chatauqua programs. It emphasized that concerns of parenthood were universal, beyond constraints of class and race.

1909 - Theorore Roosevelt and Progressive Era. First White House Conference on Children - recognition given to importance of parental care and good family life to child development.

1913 - Parent Education appeared in U.S. Children's Bureau with publication of Infant Care. Idea was to bring scientific knowledge to parents. From this time until the present, the Children's Bureau has issued a number of child care publications for parents revising a basic child development series about every 10 years.

1914 - The Department of Agriculture, through Cooperative Extension funds to land grant colleges, sponsored programs in parent education through the Home Economics departments of these colleges. This program is still operative.

1917 - Smith Hughes Vocational Education Act gave funds to the states through the Office of Education. Homemaking was recognized as a formal educational program. It supported training in adult education and through schools.

1918 - Settlement House movement strengthens; this movement emphasized social reform. It emerged from England and included well-to-do "reformers" living in poverty areas with "the poor." It developed multiple programs to work with all aspects of family problems, including parent education. With immigrant groups, at times, programs educated children to educate their parents.

1919 - White House Conference on Children: recognition given to parent education as well as special attention needed for health care, problems of poor children and their mothers, and adverse effects of child labor.

During the '20's parent education was mostly a volunteer movement of lay leaders who called on professionals for advice. The movement expanded rapidly and attracted a number of lay and professional national organizations.

1923 - First edition of the magazine Child Study.

1923-26 - rapid growth in parent study groups; this was encouraged by newly formed National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Child Study Association, and American Association of University Women.

There was special enthusiasm for parent groups associated with pre-schools, with growing understanding of importance of early childhood to total development of child. Also increasing belief that adults could learn and change (encouraged by Thorndike's studies).

1923-28 - Funding from Rockerfeller Foundations gave great boost to parent education.

During this period, (starting about 1914) there was huge outpouring of books, articles, and radio programs on child care and parenting. Watson was especially influential and there was considerable emphasis on "good habit" training including obedience, cleanliness, punishment, rewards, curiosity, and sex education.

1925 - National Council on Parent Education founded.

1926 - The Chicago Association for Child Study was particularly active in promoting groups; considerable emphasis on fostering the mental health of the child. Freudian influence felt in more avant garde groups.

In part, parent education groups of this period were one expression of feminist movement. With the coming of women's suffrage, a number of women's groups became active in supporting maternal and child welfare legislation. Although the '20's was essentially a conservative era, politically, it was also a period of rapid changes in family life and attitudes toward marriage and parenting.

During the '20's a number of child development research centers were established at Universities - at such schools as Iowa State, University of Minnesots, Cornell, Teacher's College at Columbia, Yale, University of California, Merrill-Palmer in Detroit.

Nursery schools at Universities which included parent participation and observation were also established at such schools as Vassar and Iowa. These schools emphasized formation of "good habits" and responsible social adjustment along with self-control of feelings.

Preparental education classes were located in a number of grade schools and high schools.

There was considerable enthusiasm about the concept that motherhood could be professionalized, especially through participation in nursery schools, and that mothers could become experts in scientific child care.

By 1929 - 75 major organizations were conducting parent education with money from federal and state governments and private foundations.

1929 - publication of Flugel's Psychoanalytic Study of the Family also influential in spreading Freudian doctrine to some of the more liberated parent education groups.

1930 - White House Conference on Children - central arguments regarding progressive vs. traditional education. Emphasis on child's feelings and personality. Also, call for research.

1930 - Edward Lindeman, an influential leader of the child study movement, emphasizes the importance of helping children adjust to a rapidly changing urban, industrial society. Parents need help in adjusting all aspects of family life to modern culture.

1931 - leaders in field begin to emphasize parent group processes that affect attitudes as more important than facts. Parents should meet their own human needs and see children as endlessly changing organisms.

1930-40 - Depression: WPA and FERA programs launched, including ones on parent education to help parents cope with devastating effects of depression. Also to provide employment for teachers. A number of WPA pre-schools developed. Technical help given by National Council on Parent Education. This council pushed for sound research in child development and family life and dissemination of results. These programs included visits to homes of parents not comfortable in groups. group parent meetings, parent participation in nursery schools.

During the 1930's, growing input from mental health movement and social sciences. Concern for total family system, families in adjustment in a changing and confusing world, need for satisfying relationships and clarity of values.

Also, increasing emphasis on families and democratic child rearing methods which could influence democracy outside the family.

Family life education, similar to parent education but different in its emphasis on "education for marriage" as well as parenthood, grew from a small movement in the 1920's to a strong, wide-spread program in high schools and colleges during the 1930's. It became stronger during the 1940's and remains a fairly potent movement at the present time (1979).

During the early '40's, there were few parent education activities as such, owing to World War II. However, there was a great increase in child care centers with federal funding so that mothers could work in war industries.

Most of the writings regarding parent education during the 1940's emphasized democratic child rearing and family life as an antidote to authoritarianism and rise of fascist movements in the future. A similar emphasis was placed on mental health.

1946 - National Mental Health Act - recognized potential positives of parent education as a preventive measure against mental illness. This act provided funding for community mental health programs, including parent education. Despite this boost to the movement, its activities began a decline, owing in part to loss of private funding through foundations.

The National Council on Parent Education merged, in 1948, with the National Council on Family Relations (the latter was founded in 1938). This merger represented a coming together of philosophically somewhat different fields since the National Council on Family Relations put considerable emphasis on bringing knowledge from the social sciences to the building of "strong, Satisfying marriages," with parenthood being seen as only one part of family life.

Despite some decline in the strength of the parent education movement per se during the 1950's, a large number of parent education programs existed with federal, state, and local government funding and, in some localities, private funding; a major emphasis was placed on the part parent education could play in mental health. Numerous national organizations were involved in various aspects of parent and family life education and a number of professions claimed "ownership" of the field.

1959 - A major challenge was issues to the field by Orville Brim, then of the Russell Sage Foundation. His survey of the field plus an analysis of available evaluations of effectiveness of programs raised serious questions as to the actual usefulness of parent education. Brim brought a particularly high level of intellectual sophistication and strong connections to research knowledge and theory to his publications.

1960-1979* - Parent Involvement Fostered Through Early Intervention Programs: Orville Brim's critical analyses may have caused considerable lessening of public and private funding for parent education during the past decade, especially as this education was linked to mental health. However, the "war against poverty, of the 1960's together with discoveries of "cognitive deprivation" among low income children gave new life to parent education as a field and lead to another recognition in this century of parents as educators. As shown in the following chart, the historical recognition of family members as educators has currently reached a point which permits identification and organization of available descriptions into the topics of direct and indirect educational roles.

---

* Note: This section represents a synthesis of the material identified by Dr. Chilman for the time period 1960-1979. See sections on legislated programs in the Gotts paper for a discussion of this time period also.

TYPOLOGIES OF PARENTS AS EDUCATORS

A. Direct Educators in Academic Model

1. Parents as home partners with teachers and direct tutors of children if tutoring seems needed.

2. Parents as active supporters of teachers and the school and involved in a variety of ways:

   a. volunteers in the school room, library, lunch room, etc.

   b. active members, sometimes officers of parent-teacher groups

   c. member of School Board

3. Parents as employees of the school in teaching, teacher aide and, in other school staff positions.

4. Parents playing a supplementary educational function, such as enriching child's academic program through parent-child trips to museums, libraries, educational movies, etc. Also discussion between parents and children regarding a host of school related topics.

B. Indirect Support For Child's "Healthy" Development As A Foundation for Educational Success, Among Other Life Goals

1. Providers of expressed, unconditional love and valuing of child as a unique, significant indiviudual.

2. Providers of excellent physical care including: good nutrition, adequate exercise and rest, immunizations, medical examinations, etc.

3. Providers of reasoned, mild, consistent discipline which emphasizes positive reinforcement as well as freedom of expression within defined limits and the authority of parents to set standards of performance.

4. Provider of needed protection and guidance but also of opportunities for child to develop own sense of individual identity and increasing ability to behave independently with self-confidence as a competent person with adequate coping skills in total school situation as well as home and community.

5. Parents as models of "effective personhood" in terms of physical, social, emotional, educational, vocational development.

6. Parents as purveyors of norms, attitudes, values and goals regarding many aspects of life, including the educational - vocational.

7. Parents as providers of the child's home and community environment, including associated physical, financial, social, educational and recreation resources.

Conference Chair*

JENNY COOK-GUMPERZ
Institute of Human Learning
University of California, Berkeley
Research areas: literacy, socialization processes, identification of home/school contexts

Other Invited Participants*

JOHN ALDEN, Director
National School Volunteer Program
300 North Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

BERNARD BROWN
Administration on Children, Youth and Families
Department of Health and Human Services
400-6th Street, S. W.
Washington, DC 20201

CATHERINE S. CHILMAN
Family Development Institute
School of Social Welfare
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI 53201
Research areas: family development, public policy and families

FREDERICK ERICKSON
Institute for Research on Teaching
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824
Research areas: home-school community ethnography

EDWARD E. GOTTS, Director
Division of Childhood and Parenting
Appalachia Educational Laboratory
Charleston, WV 25325
Research areas: parenting and child development

JUDITH GREEN
College of Education
Kent State University
300 White Hall
Kent, OH 44242
Research areas: reading and language development, identification of instructional contexts, analysis of instructional strategies

* Research areas and projects listed for participants are not meant to be inclusive of all the person's professional activities, but only activities which seemed especially relevant to this conference. Affiliation and titles are listed as of the time of the conference.

JUDITH HARKER
1213 LaBrea
Thousand Oaks, CA 91360
Research areas: similarities and differences in comprehension process across the life span

MAVIS HETHERINGTON
Department of Psychology
Gilmer Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22901
Research area: single parent families

LOIS HOFFMAN
Department of Psychology
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48106
Research area: families with working mothers

SHIRLEY JACKSON, Director
Basic Skills Improvement Program
Office of Education, DHEW
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, DC 20202

EVELYN JACOB
Center for Applied Linguistics
3520 Prospect Street, N. W.
Washington, DC

VELMA JAMES
Parent Involvement Specialist
Division of Education for the Disadvantaged
DHEW
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, DC 20202

ROBERT JOHNSON
Institute of Black Studies
6374 Delmar Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63130
Research area: black family cultural heritage

BLAKE KEASEY
Department of Psychiatry
Loma Linda University Medical Center
Riverside, CA 92506
Research areas: motivation; family processes

STANLEY KRUGER, Director
Parent/Early Childhood & Special Program Staff
Bureau of School Improvement, OE
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, DC 20202

LUIS LAOSA
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, NJ 08541
Research area: cultural differences in maternal teaching styles

IRVING LAZAR
Department of Community Service Education
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853
Project: PTA issues study

HOPE JENSEN LEICHTER
Elbenwood Center for the Study of the Family as Educator
Teachers College, Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
New York, NY 10027
Project: the role of family in promoting children's acquisition of literacy for learning

ELIZABETH FARQUHAR
Bureau of School Improvement, OE
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, DC 20202

WADE NOBLES
Westside Community Mental Health Center
1255 Port Street, Suite 900
San Francisco, CA 94109
Research area: families' perception of their educational roles and responsibilities

PEDRO PEDRAZA
Center for Puerto Rican Studies
City University of New York
445 West 59th Street
New York, NY 10019
Project: ethnographic study of strategies of children in home, school, and neighborhood and adult attitudes toward school programs

ELIZABETH PURCELL
National School Volunteer Program
300 North Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

FREDERIKA SANTOS
Center for the Social Sciences
812 International Affairs Building
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027
Project: allocation of human and material resources to children rearing: development of a comprehensive data base on America's children

EARL SCHAEFFER
Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
Research area: parent-professional-child interaction and involvement

SYLVIA SCRIBNER
Center for Applied Linguistics
3520 Prospect Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20007

JEFFREY SHULTZ
Teachers College
Department of Educational Leadership
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, OH 45221
Research areas: identification of participation contexts at home and school; functional equivalence of home and school contexts; educational processes in homes of handicapped individuals

ROBERT YIN
600 Kingsford Road
Bethesda, MD 20034
Research area: case study methodologies and identification of family processes